22: Wiedfeldt--25 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 623, 614, 527 Atayal

The clan assembly consists of the heads of all the families and the successful head-hunters of the member families. It meets when summoned by the head of the clan, which is regularly on the occasion of the two millet festivals. Aside from these two regular meetings, it meets when it is necessary to impose a punishment or to conduct some legal business.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

34: Del Re--19 [1] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 623 Yami

"No hierarchic distinction exists among the islanders nor is the rotation-system practised. Village councils, called 'Quaty', consisted of 12 elders, of over fifty years of age elected by the villagers. Their powers were merely advisory and the community was not obliged to abide by their decisions. In case of offences against the gods or the community, the 'Quatys' had authority to impose a fine in kind--a custom still practised--proportionate to the gravity of the offence. (4) "

4. See below p. 63.

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 ADl Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

tsuvulavaŋ, lusaliaŋ, suli'i, laluriaŋ. 643

d) *sasaolaŋ* (servants of the *avusamaŋ* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malava* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajaŋ* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvaŋ giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulaŋaŋ* (Chimo)

b) *paraiŋaŋ* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliŋao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsaŋ (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*

rara'atsaŋ tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoŋ*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau*. 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alaŋ*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*.

c) *malaval ta palisilisiaŋ*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsaŋ* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsaŋ*.

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli-umax*. The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsa*. The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunaŋaŋ* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows: 631 621

atunaŋaŋ village		*pinairaratsa* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiaŋ*	„
vuŋalit	„	*taluvuŋaŋ*	„
butsuŋnok	„	*tsaododo*	„
tsuvutsa'ataŋ	„	*tsulimodo*	„